

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00020 132013Z

43/44

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 079175

P 121430Z FEB 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2939

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0020

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (EO LINE TO READ E.O. 11652 XGDS-1 VICE  
E.O. 11652)

EXDIS SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD AND SECDEF

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

REF: STATE 027486

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1G

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS FOR THROW-WEIGHT AND LAUNCHING  
WEIGHT (SALT TWO-904)

1. DELEGATION RECOMMENDS FOLLOWING APPROACH TO SOVIETS ON  
FOREGOING SUBJECT. AFTER LAYING THE GROUNDWORK IN PRIVATE  
CONVERSATION OR CONVERSATIONS WITH SEMENOV, I WOULD MAKE A  
PLENARY STATEMENT WHICH WOULD (A) PRESENT RATIONALE FOR  
EXPLICIT AGREEMENT ON NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS ON THROW-WEIGHT AND  
LAUNCHING WEIGHT OF NON-HEAVY AND HEAVY ICBMS, (B) PROPOSE  
RECORDING THE AGREED VALUES IN AN AGREED STATEMENT, AND  
(C) OFFER SPECIFIC VALUES CLOSE TO BEST US INTELLIGENCE  
ESTIMATES. I WOULD MAKE SUCH STATEMENT SHORTLY AFTER SIDES  
HAVE AGREED AT LEAST IN SUBSTANCE TO HEAVY ICBM CAP

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00020 132013Z

AND AGREED TO DEFINITION OF THROW-WEIGHT.

2. OUR RATIONALE FOR EXPLICIT AGREEMENT WOULD STRESS: DESIRABILITY OF REMOVING ANY AMBIGUITY IN DEMARCATION BETWEEN HEAVY AND NON-HEAVY ICBMS AND UPPER LIMIT ON HEAVY ICBMS; ASSURANCE THAT EQUAL STANDARDS ARE APPLIED BY BOTH SIDES IN WEAPONS DESIGN; AVOIDANCE OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THIS IMPORTANT SUBJECT DURING THE LIFE OF THE AGREEMENT; AND IMPORTANCE IN US RATIFICATION PROCESS.

3. THE PROPOSED AGREED STATEMENT WOULD BE MODELED AFTER THE AGREED INTERPRETATION (B) ASSOCIATED WITH ARTICLE III OF THE ABM TREATY, WHICH STATED THAT, FOR PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT, THE POWER-APERTURE PRODUCT OF A CERTAIN RADAR (A US RADAR, NOT SPECIFIED) WAS CONSIDERED TO BE A SPECIFIED VALUE. DELEGATION RECOGNIZES THE NEGOTIATING HISTORY CITED IN PARA 5 OF REFTTEL, BUT BELIEVES IT DESIRABLE NOT TO SEEK FORMAL ASSOCIATION OF SPECIFIC MISSILES WITH THE NUMERICAL VALUES. THUS WE WOULD NOT SEEK TO REQUIRE THE SOVIETS ON THE RECORD TO IDENTIFY PARTICULAR SOVIET MISSILES WITH PARTICULAR NUMERICAL VALUES.

4. WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC VALUES, DELEGATION HAS CONSIDERED THE ALTERNATIVE OF LIMITING OUR PRESENTATION TO RATIONALE FOR REACHING EXPLICIT AGREEMENT AND MERELY SOLICITING THE SOVIET VALUES. AS WE SEE IT, DIFFICULTY WITH THIS APPROACH IS THAT SOVIETS CAN CERTAINLY BE EXPECTED TO RESIST PRINCIPLE OF FORMALLY ACCEPTING NUMERICAL VALUES AND TO LOOK UPON OUR EFFORT TO SOLICIT NUMBERS FROM THEM AS FISHING FOR INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION. THUS WE MAY FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DRAW THEM INTO DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC NUMBERS. WHILE OFFERING OUR OWN NUMBERS DOES NOT OBVIATE THESE DIFFICULTIES, IT WOULD GIVE SOVIETS OPPORTUNITY TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC NUMBERS WITHOUT BEING FORCED IN ADVANCE AND ON THE RECORD TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE LATTER COURSE OFFERS BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVE. (RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH BACKFIRE IS CASE IN POINT.) INsofar AS PROTECTION OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION IS CONCERNED, IT SEEMS TO DELEGATION THAT WHETHER OR NOT WE ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON NUMBERS OR EVEN PERSUADE SOVIETS TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION OF THEM, THE US NUMBERS WILL EVENTUALLY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00020 132013Z

SURFACE, IF NOT DURING RATIFICATION PROCEEDINGS THEN SUBSEQUENTLY.

5. WE RECOMMEND OFFERING 3,300 KG. AND 90,000 KG. FOR NON-HEAVY THROW-WEIGHT AND LAUNCH WEIGHT AND 7,000 KG. AND 185,000 KG. FOR HEAVY THROW-WEIGHT AND LAUNCH WEIGHT. WE RECOMMEND AGAINST SEEKING TO MINIMIZE OR MAXIMIZE FIGURES, PARTLY BECAUSE WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER FOR THEIR

OWN REASONS THE SOVIETS WOULD SEEK TO FUDGE IN ONE DIRECTION OR THE OTHER, AND PARTLY BECAUSE SUCH A US TACTIC COULD RAISE LEGITIMATE CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONS. ALTERNATIVELY, IF MORE ROUNDED NUMBERS ARE CONSIDERED DESIRABLE, WE WOULD SUGGEST 3,500 KG. AND 90,000 KG. FOR THE NON-HEAVY, DOUBLED TO 7,000 KG. AND 180,000 KG. FOR THE HEAVY, IN PLACE OF THE ABOVE FIGURES.

6. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE SOONEST. JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic DecapTIONing:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** STANDARDS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, ICBMS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 FEB 1976  
**DecapTION Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**DecapTION Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976SALTT00020  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760055-1127  
**From:** SALT TALKS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760255/aaaabvvm.tel  
**Line Count:** 124  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 27486  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 NOV 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 MAY 2004 by ifshinsr>; WITHDRAWN <27 SEP 2004 by saccheem, REFER TO DOE>; RELEASED <01 NOV 2004 by blochd0>; APPROVED <04 NOV 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS FOR THROW-WEIGHT AND LAUNCHING WEIGHT (SALT TWO-904)  
**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006